2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

up one by one shouting the names and presenting them to the proper gift partners. Each stick recalled to him the name of a particular individual, a difficult form of mnemonics for Whites, but the Papago, trained in memorizing by rote, did not consider it as hard as abstract counting. Something like the same process may be observed today when an Indian, in trading at the store, points to an article, pays for it and gets the change before dealing with the next one.

The Papago word now used for *count* is kwint, obviously from the Spanish *cuentar*. But the writer, in studying a Spanish grammar of the Lower Pima,[1] was puzzled to find a Pima word which was translated count. After much conference with Papagos, it was decided that the word was *ha kiwikitat*, to whip them continually, and seemed to have been derived from the counting of strokes under the Spanish punishment system.

MEASURES

Dry measure was calculated by the basketful. The basket bowl, the winnowing basket and the carrying basket were roughly standard sizes and all had various decorative lines parallel to the rim by which fractions of their content could be measured. In measuring quantities for trade, however, both parties to the bargain used the same basket so they could be sure of equal measure.

For linear measure, parts of the body were used. Women, in making a basket, took as a unit the handbreatdh: the distance between the outstretched thumb and forefinger. Half a handbreadth was the length of the first finger and "less than a handbreadth" the distance between thumb and first finger. For more exactitude, the worker used the distances between various fingertips, with the hand outstretched.

Men measured the length of wood for a bow by the distance from the tip of the second finger to the breast bone, when the arm was stretched forward. The arrow should be as long as the space between the hands when pulling the bow string. Lengths of rope were measured by the distance between the fingertips when the arms were outspread or, for short ropes, the distance from elbow to wrist.

CEREMONIAL NUMBERS AND DIRECTIONS

The Papago ceremonial number is four and four is continually used whenever small amounts are thought of. Possibly, in former

[1] Grammar of the Pima or Nevome, a language of Sonora, from a manuscript of the XVIII Century. Edited by Buckingham Smith, 1862.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

reciting the history of the stick, uses the technique of the origin myth: he begins at the beginning and proceeds straight through, without interruption and using as many nights as are necessary. It was by hearing such recitals that he himself learned the record. The writer negotiated with him for pauses at certain points when questions might be asked but he found it very difficult to remember under such circumstances. Papago etiquette requires that the learner shall never interrupt.

173 211 805 [576]

MEMORIZING

Akin to the learning of the calendar record is the learning of rituals. These, as mentioned above, are passed down by their owners to chosen male relatives but when no relative is available, the council itself may ask that a stranger be instructed. The method of instruction is for the teacher to recite the whole ritual through as many times as needed and then for the learner to say it all through. This sounds difficult but there are certain aids to memory in that the directions are always mentioned in order, every episode occurs four times and there are standard poetic phrases always recurring in specific connections. Still, learning a long ritual by this process may take a year.

153 211 869

Understanding the ritual is a separate accomplishment, not possessed by all. The writer found some old men who had spent years in thinking over their memorized material and discussing it with others. But this had been done after the learning was finished: while in the position of pupil, they had no right to ask questions and many of them had never done so. As a result they had learned by rote not only archaic words but misplaced words, and could not understand their own ritual. The habit of learning by heart, with the meaning a secondary consideration and questions forbidden, is to be considered in the teaching of Papagos in modern schools. The doubt and analysis to which White children are conditioned, even before school age, are absent in Papago attitudes and must be taught in school, not taken for granted.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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121 are evidently the best for use with individuals of a cultural background differ-
125 ent from that in which the tests were standardized. Both intelligence tests selected for the research on Indian education—the Grace Arthur Point Performance Scale and the Goodenough Draw-a-Man Test—belong to this group.

125 The results obtained from Papago children with the Grace Arthur test show
153 a considerable difference in the average I.Q.'s of the western and eastern districts studied. The test performance of the eastern children was on the average about equal to that of the white children on whom the test was standardized; the average I.Q. of the white children was 102.5; that of the eastern Papago children, 99.4 (see Table 3). In comparison with children of other Indian communities included in the research, the eastern Papago occupy exactly the median place. The much lower I.Q. of the western Papago children—86.9—puts them and one group of Navaho at the lower end of the scale.

153 Though this striking difference may be due partly to chance operating in the composition of the two Papago groups, other factors which may be influential should be taken into consideration. It is perhaps not a coincidence that, among three Navaho groups, the one with an I.Q. still lower than that of the western Papago was almost entirely composed of children who had never been in school. The majority of the western Papago children who took this test were listed as attending day school, but it is known that attendance is usually much more sporadic than in the eastern part of the Reservation. It is by no means an exception to hear of absences from school lasting several months, even years, and children often start school at the age of twelve or fourteen, attending perhaps for a total of one or two weeks during the whole school year. All these children are, however, listed as attending school. School training as a factor possibly influencing the results of the Grace Arthur test cannot therefore be disregarded in interpreting the test results, especially since the same factor is found combined with similar test results in another Indian group.

However, not only the western children's limited acquaintance with the handling of puzzles and mazes, such as are used in the Grace Arthur test, may have played a role in lowering the I.Q. The fact that western children are much less conditioned by previous training to give attention to and to be at ease regarding tasks which white persons require from them may have brought down the average I.Q. of this group. Moreover, it should be remembered that the western communities from which the children were chosen are distinguished from those of the eastern area by their particular resistance to white influence and especially to the introduction of schools. It is not known exactly how much the emotional attitude with which a person enters a test

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situation may influence the results of an intelligence test.[1] In the evaluation of an average I.Q. obtained from large numbers of individuals, it may usually be assumed that the various attitudes will neutralize each other. In the case of the western Papago, however, it is possible that resistance to whites may have outweighed the more favorable attitudes.

Although these two factors of possible negative influence—limited school experience and emotional resistance—must be kept in mind, it is impossible to determine clearly whether and how far they are responsible for the low average I.Q. of western Papago children.

With certainty a "racial factor" may be excluded. The much higher average I.Q. of the eastern Papago children and the wide range of intelligence quotients found in the various Indian tribes studied, one of which shows an average considerably higher than that of white children, seem to be sufficient proof against such an assumption.[2]

There are, however, still other differences between the two Papago areas, besides those concerning schools and attitudes toward whites, which may have influenced the course of their intellectual development. As noted in Part I, the western part of the Reservation is extremely arid and exposed to sandstorms and droughts. Living conditions are therefore particularly hard, and the fight for survival apparently requires more effort and brings more setbacks and disappointments. The average economic conditions are correspondingly less favorable than those in the eastern districts.

Furthermore, the life of a western Papago child is relatively simple. The tasks usually required from him are of immediate reality and urgency. The fiestas and native ceremonies, which have no great complexity of symbols and rites to stimulate formal trends in his mind, will mean to him chiefly complete relaxation. Hence, both work and relaxation are of a sort which normally do not require the kind of mental activity needed for the solution of puzzles or the tracing of mazes. In this desolated spacious desert area, where the enemy is mainly poor soil and drought and much less the pressure of outside groups, what is needed and demanded is direct and careful planning, the organization of a relatively limited number of important phenomena into a meaning, and attention to immediate necessity.

1. Experiments recently accomplished with another test (the Rorschach), in which the subject is submitted to suggestions inducing specific moods, have shown that different emotional reactions seem indeed to have a bearing on test results. Depression, for example, seems to slow down the performance; expansiveness appears to reduce the results to a more primitive pattern (see Kate Levine, Joseph R. Grossi, and Martin J. Gerson, "Hypnotically Induced Mood Changes in the Verbal and Graphic Rorschach," *Rorschach Exchange*, October, 1943).

2. Dr. Laura Thompson and Alice Joseph, *The Hopi Way*, pp. 100–101.

153 184 In times of relaxation, of prayer for or rejoicing over good harvests and rain, vagrancy of thought going out into daydreams or songs is apparently not only permissible but respected as being close to nature and its spirit. Western Papago who are able to solve complex formal and organizational problems perform such tasks through mental activity which seems to lie outside that normally required for their daily life.

153 184 177 The eastern Papago communities, on the other hand, have been for a long time exposed to outside influences. In the old days Apache raids were comparatively frequent and demanded constant watchfulness and readiness for defense. There are now other elements that influence the eastern way of life: two Catholic missions and schools, one Presbyterian mission and school, one government school, and, only ten to twenty miles away from the several communities, the Reservation headquarters, which is also the seat of the tribal council and court. Mexico, "just across the mountains," is frequently visited. Thus, life in this area has certain more complex and formal aspects, the mastery of which stimulate mental activity beyond the simplicity of the West, into the direction of greater intellectual alertness and greater ability to differentiate and to organize complex tasks.

153 Making a decision as to the actual effects of these factors on the I.Q. of Papago children seems obviously impossible, particularly if it is to be based on the results of one test. However, the other intelligence test used in the research, the Goodenough Draw-a-Man, has given findings which to a degree support the considerations discussed above. According to this test, the average I.Q. of Eastern Papago children is 108.5, that of the western Papago 103.6 (see Table 3). The average I.Q. achieved by the Papago children of both areas on the Goodenough test is higher than that obtained by white children on whom the test was standardized (100.0) and by a group of white children from a midwestern town (101.2).

151 153 The mental capacities taken into account for the calculation of an I.Q. in the Goodenough Draw-a-Man Test are apparently different from those playing a role in the Grace Arthur test. The old fame of Indians as scouts—a fame which has repeatedly been confirmed in the recent war—indicates alertness and attention to significant details, the chief traits scored in the Goodenough test.

The following incident may illustrate the nature and degree of Papago children's gift for observation. One of the Reservation field nurses took a group of small Papago children for a few hours to the Agency seat for medical examinations. Some time later a teacher asked the children to draw pictures of the hospital. Almost all showed certain details which appeared to the teacher

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and the nurse, who knew the hospital well, to be out of place or even invented. On their next trip they checked these details and found to their surprise that the children had been correct.

In this case the specific way of life in which the children are trained has apparently stimulated a particular mental activity and furthered its development. It cannot be assumed by analogy that the same factor played a negative role in the Grace Arthur test, but the results of the Goodenough nevertheless seem to support this possibility, because children of actual dull normal intelligence (as an I.Q. of 86.8 would imply among whites) could hardly achieve,

TABLE 3

AVERAGE I.Q.'S SCORED BY PAPAGO CHILDREN OF TWO AREAS ON TWO INTELLIGENCE TESTS

AREA	AVERAGE I.Q. * Arthur Test*	Goodenough Test†
Eastern	99.4	108.5
Western	86.9	103.6

* Children aged six through fifteen years. Source: Robert J. Havighurst and Rhea R. Hilkevitch, "The Intelligence of Indian Children as Measured by a Performance Scale," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XXXIX (1944), 427. If only the children of six through eleven were included, as in the Goodenough test, the Arthur I.Q.'s would average 99.7 for the eastern children and 87.5 for the western.

† Children aged six through eleven years. Source: Robert J. Havighurst, Minna Koref, and Inez Fuller, "Environment and the Draw-a-Man Test: The Performance of Indian Children," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XLI (1946), 50–63.

even through specialized training, a nonmechanical skill of detailed observation to the degree shown by the western Papago children in the Goodenough test.

With regard to the supposedly negative influence of the western Papago attitudes toward whites, it should be noted that the situation during the administration of the Goodenough test was actually less provoking than that of the Arthur. The latter was given to each child alone by a white teacher unknown to him; the Goodenough test was administered to groups of varying size by a teacher or by an anthropologist, both of whom were familiar to the children at least by sight and by sporadic contacts.

Later it will be shown that still another test (the Rorschach) supplies information about mental activity and that its results seem to agree with the assumption that specific conditions may have lowered the I.Q. of western Papago children on the Arthur test.

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● 153 However, let us examine first the results of still other tests, which are not concerned with the purely intellectual side of personalities. If we know more about the children's emotional reactions, the aims and values influencing their behavior, and their average personality structure in its entirety, we may be able to approach the problem of intellectual capacities from a different angle.

So far it is clear that in average mental ability as indicated by tests, the Papago groups studied reveal differences between one another, on one hand, and between themselves and white children, on the other hand, and that specific differences seem to be tied up with specific tests. This casts some doubt on the wisdom of accepting the test results at face value and suggests certain hypothetical explanations, of which the influence of a different way of life appears to be of primary importance. If other tests reveal that such influence is deep enough to color other sides of the personalities as well, such explanations will have greater plausibility.

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Chapter XV

SOME EMOTIONAL PATTERNS OF PAPAGO CHILDREN

WE TURN now to other factors in the personalities of Papago children. The reader will recall from chapter xii that one of the tests (Emotional Response) is designed to discover emotional patterns by direct question and answer; the child is asked to tell about occasions when he was happy, sad, angry, afraid, or ashamed and to describe the best thing and the worst thing that could happen to him. Normal human beings, when asked directly to tell strangers about certain emotions, usually tend to be evasive in their answers, particularly if the questions evoke associations of sacred or intimate nature. But, when the evasive component is taken in account, such answers can be of great value for the discernment of personality structure. What is openly admitted varies according to the character of the individual because it leaves him a certain freedom of choice; besides, it reveals those roads of noncommittal safety which he thinks are sure to receive general approval. Thus, even if simple, direct questioning does not reveal very much about the true emotional background of a normal person's behavior, answers to such questions do show which areas of emotional experience appear to the subject to be safe and permissible to describe.

When a person who is asked by a stranger, "Tell me about a time when you were happy," answers, "I was happy when I was at the movies," it is quite possible that he really experienced memorable happiness there. But, without further explanation, it is not clear what was the immediate reason for his emotion or whether there might not have been much more significant occasions of happiness in his life which he does not want to communicate to a stranger. In an average case it may be inferred, however, that "movies" have a certain pleasant association for him, that they fall into his range of experiences, and that he considers them socially legitimate pleasures.

What an individual considers socially legitimate emotions, as well as his

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153 121 selection of specific instances, may be clues to the understanding of his personality, because the nature of admitted and accepted emotional outlets reveals some of the tracks into which, under ordinary circumstances, a person's behavior is socially directed. In the analysis of an individual personality such findings have a meaning not so much by themselves as in correlation with the results of other, more complex examinations. In the analysis of the average personality structure of a group of people, knowledge of openly admitted pleasures, fears, and reasons for sadness, anger, and shame has a greater value by itself, because it may show the extent and the character of common areas of emotional experiences and behavior tendencies and thus contribute insight into the psychological cohesion of the group.

Moreover, in group interrelations, it seems to the writer that the face value of emotional and moral standards as admitted by most members of a group is largely responsible for what to an outsider appear as "group characteristics." It represents the kind of psychological evidence on which he bases his judgments and prejudices as well as his behavior toward members of the group.

153 The answers of Papago children to questions about occasions when they were happy, sad, afraid, angry, or ashamed were highly evasive, but the responses did not appear to be deliberately invented or calculated either to please or to challenge the tester. All the answers were short and given without elaboration or explanation. Apparently, whenever the children felt objection to the whole test or parts of it, they did not respond at all instead of groping in their minds for a suitable answer. Among these were children with high and low I.Q.'s alike. Only a small proportion of the children—9 per cent in the western area and 10 per cent in the eastern—rejected the entire test; but a much higher percentage rejected questions about one or several specific emotions. The number of eastern children who made partial rejections was about twice that of western children making such rejections.

In view of the resistance which in chapter xiii was assumed to play a part in contacts between western Papago and whites, these findings would appear incongrous, if consideration were not given to a new factor of influence inherent [125] in the test itself. The Emotional Response Test is verbal and requires at least a certain amount of understanding and speaking knowledge of English if given in this language. The test was given almost exclusively in English in the eastern communities, while the western children were tested in Papago with the help of interpreters.

Considering the inhibitions a child may feel when he is asked to tell about his experiences in a language which he has not mastered, the differences in the number of rejections found in the two areas may indeed be based mainly

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on such mechanical difficulties. This is the more probable, since, aside from the difference in total numbers of responses, the two geographical areas agreed completely in the rejection of specific questions. Questions about shame brought the fewest responses, anger a few more, with sadness next higher on the scale. Fear and happiness were most frequently described. Later we shall return to the probable significance of this trend common to all Papago children.

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HAPPINESS

According to Papago children themselves, they are made happy most of all by play and by rodeos, fiestas, parties, and the celebrations of various holidays (see Table 4). The next most important sources of happiness are trips and

TABLE 4

PRINCIPAL SOURCES OF HAPPINESS AS DESCRIBED BY PAPAGO AND BY WHITE CHILDREN (ROUNDED PERCENTAGES OF ALL RESPONSES)*

Source	Papago	White
Play and amusements	30	17
Property (receiving gifts and having property)	16	27
Fiestas (native and Spanish-American)	15	..
Trips	13	11
Holidays (white)	8	12
Work	8	2
Personal achievement	1	10

* Data in this table and in Tables 5–10 are from Robert J. Havighurst, "A Comparison of American Indian Children and White Children by Means of the Emotional Response Test" (M5).

journeys and gifts of clothes, food, toys, and money received from relatives, friends, or just "anybody."

The general pattern of happiness among white children of a midwestern town is similar but there are some striking differences between the two. The pleasant significance of festive occasions seems to be markedly less for white children; that of receiving gifts and having property much more. Play and amusements, though apparently occupying an important enough place in white children's minds, seem to receive less attention than from the Papago, particularly the girls. The most striking difference, however, lies in the area of personal achievement, which for white children has a rather strong pleasure-producing function; for Papago children, practically none.

In a comparison of the western and eastern Papago we find the same overall trend, with a slight shifting of pleasure values (see Table 5). In the west there is a strong accent on fiestas and tribal ceremonies which appears to be partly replaced in the east by parties and dances, competitive games like

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basketball, and the celebration of white American holidays. In the east, church and school receive more attention, whereas trips and journeys, the receiving of gifts, and the possession of property, particularly of food, are more often remembered as occasions for happiness in the western districts.

Recalling what is known from observation of Papago ways of life, as detailed in Parts I and II of this study, we find that observed facts and the results of the test support each other. These are the children, as in moments of happy recreation we see them on the Reservation—the candy-lovers and spenders of nickels at fiestas, the indefatigable dancers at native ceremonies and church parties, and enraptured onlookers at rodeos, the young riders at roundups, the smiling occupants of wagons on their long, dusty trips to Magdalena or the

TABLE 5

PRINCIPAL SOURCES OF HAPPINESS DESCRIBED BY CHILDREN OF TWO PAPAGO AREAS (ROUNDED PERCENTAGES OF ALL RESPONSES)*

Source	West	East
Play and amusements	17	27
Property and gifts	22	13
Food	7	3
Money	1	1
Fiestas and ceremonies	18	4
Holidays (white)	7	9
Trips	16	11
School	4	11
Church	1	3

* For source of data see Table 4.

cotton fields. We see them in immediate naïve response to the joys of festive occasions which punctuate the sequence of working days, rejoicing in gifts which satisfy their hunger or make them look pretty but caring little for the pleasure and prestige of owning property, and still less about ambitious achievements which might single them out from others.

In the old Papago culture individual superiority and power were not thought of as the result of patient and planned labor or connected logically with personal merit. They were a gift from the supernatural,[1] bestowed in a dream to those esteemed worthy in a mystical sense. In the immense desert where the groups of Papago were scattered, small in the greatness of nature and exposed to its attacks, such a belief was at once humble resignation and hope in miraculous salvation.

Into such an atmosphere the concept of personal achievement did not even

1. See Ruth Underhill, *Social Organization of the Papago Indians*, pp. 197 and 209, and the same author's *Singing for Power*, *passim*.

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enter. Duties had to be done—constantly and well done—but results could be obtained only by co-operation, not by the strength or inventiveness of the individual alone. The more gifted and the uncommonly successful were looked upon with friendly appreciation or with awe as being favored by the supernatural, but they were not admired as self-made men.

Much of the ancient Papago culture and many of its concepts seem to be alive today; and, though numerous old traditions and customs may have broken down, it usually takes more than thirty or forty years to change a fundamental philosophy of life. Thus the children of both areas of the Papago country studied do not show the personal ambitions observed in modern white culture, and reports of their general behavior in school support the findings of the tests. However, slight traces of white influence upon eastern Papago children may be seen in their growing interest in competitive games.

There are still other signs of white influence in the eastern districts, the most important probably being the diminishing attention given to native ceremonies and fiestas which, as Table 5 shows, seems much weaker than in the western districts. Here may be seen the Papago "plasticity" to alien influences—a plasticity arising from their own loosely knit cultural forms, allowing them to take on foreign symbols without crucial difficulties and to fill them with their own spirit.

The differences between the two districts regarding happiness derived from gifts and property are consistent throughout the Emotional Response Test. The western children admit not only greater pleasure from property but also deeper concern about its loss.

"THE BEST THING"

These differences become more evident if we expand our inquiry beyond the area of happy experience to that of openly admitted desire. When the children were asked, "What is the best thing that could happen to you?" the testers expected the answers to give a glimpse of the needs and drives arising from actual conditions of life as they are realized by children. By limiting the request to the "best thing" and at the same time widening the area from the actual experience of the child to desires represented, felt, and seen in the whole surrounding world (including that of adults), this question may register more clearly than selective memory (as obtained with our simple, direct method) the extent and strength of various influences, including the images deriving from models, tales, and teachings.

For example, western Papago children consider property—especially money—as the "best thing" that could happen to them. It might well be in-

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ferred that these children remembered few occasions in which they were happy because they had money but that many of them felt the need for it sufficiently to deem possession of it the best thing that could happen. We have learned that, on the average, the western farming area has less favorable conditions of soil and climate than the eastern, and the number of comparatively wealthy cattle owners in the West is negligible. In the West, therefore, the security of having cash with which to buy food and clothing is more needed and sought for. Seasonal wage work in the cotton fields attracts a greater percentage of families from this area than from the East, where wage work (often

TABLE 6

"THE BEST THING THAT COULD HAPPEN" AS DESCRIBED BY PAPAGO CHILDREN OF TWO AREAS AND BY WHITE CHILDREN (ROUNDED PERCENTAGES OF ALL RESPONSES)*

Best Thing	Western Papago	Eastern Papago	All Papago†	Whites†
Property	43	18	31	23
Money	34	9	..	..
Gifts	9	9	..	..
Personal achievement	9	11	9	26
Food	5	2	..	..
Meeting social expectations‡	..	23	11	4
School		9	5	
Personal goodness		8	4	1
Work		6	3	11

* For source of data see Table 4.

† Data for white children are for ages eight to eighteen. Hence, for purposes of comparison, only the Papago children of these ages are included in figures for "All Papago" (col. 4). Thus column 3 does not represent an average of columns 1 and 2, which include children six to eighteen.

‡ "School and school activities; job and employment; work and helping at home; growing up; *all without stress on achievement.*"

for the government) seems to be done more often to provide additional comforts than to satisfy vital needs.

Although the desirability of property and money is probably greater in the West because of specific circumstances, the *fundamental* attitude toward money and property in both districts is likely to be very different from that of white children, even if whites and Indians use the same formulations.

Whoever has observed the behavior of an average Papago in possession of cash knows that, at least ninety times out of a hundred, the Papago will spend most of his money at once at the trader's, at a fiesta, or in town (see chap. iii). For him, money's essential value seems to lie in its conversion into pleasure and into the satisfaction of immediate needs. It usually provides prestige only in the form of a particularly beautiful saddle or occasionally of a car, a radio, or a sewing machine; on the average it is not accumulated.

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The Papago child who mentions money as the best thing thus shows an attitude apparently similar to and often identical with the one who names fiestas, a doll, a horse, or food. Money for him has, as for his elders, the significance of immediate gratification. Here the desires and the needs of an ancient premonetary culture are met with the tools of a recently introduced, alien socioeconomic and cultural system.

After urgent needs have been satisfied, money is used chiefly to obtain the sort of pleasure specific to old Papago culture, i.e., wholehearted and complete relaxation after the tension of work. The fact that the means of attaining such relaxation have changed has already led, and threatens to lead increasingly, to the disintegration of the individual and the group.

Before money played an appreciable role in Papago life, relaxation was found mainly in the common ceremonial gatherings which were regularly repeated between intervals of certain work. At some of these gatherings a number of behavior restrictions were temporarily lifted, and, in the eyes of his people, the individual had wide license to seek personal pleasure. At one of the main ceremonial gatherings—the wine ceremony—wine from the juice of the saguaro cactus played an essential role in inducing the desired relaxation. Becoming drunk to unconsciousness from this wine was seen as a magic device, symbolic of the rain that drenches the earth into fertility. Perhaps in this state of ritual drunkenness, a dream was sometimes hoped for and received.

With the advent of money, pleasure and relaxation which had previously been institutionalized, anticipated for months, prepared for by the whole community, and enjoyed by the individual with approval of the group could be bought by the wage-earner for himself alone and for his near-relatives and friends. What he got for his money was, however, very different from the pleasure his people had been trained for and had delighted in for centuries.

The Papago can buy necessary food, clothes, blankets, and tools on the Reservation, but pleasures as he wants them are not for sale. In the nearest towns, what few opportunities for amusement are available and comprehensible to him—a rare circus performance, a football game, the celebrations and parades of holidays, the movies—are full of the spirit of an alien culture, and he participates in them as an Indian among whites, as a stranger in a foreign country.

The only pleasure on sale which resembles the one he is used to (and at the same time can make him oblivious to the problems and conflicts arising from new and changed conditions) is alcohol. The sale of alcohol to Indians is illegal, and drunkenness is condemned by the government under whose

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273 administration he is living. But the Papago carries in himself the encouraging remembrance of traditional ceremonial sanctions; challenging the law made 153 by white people, he spends a great deal of his money on drinks bought in 517 town or smuggled across the Mexican border onto the Reservation.
556 Though drunkenness resulting from whiskey or gin gives the Papago pleasure of complete relaxation, and perhaps even dreams, it lacks the assurance and security which derive from the unity of purpose and common approval granted to everybody in the drinking ceremonials. Its magic and religious justification will gradually pale before a growing addiction to the pleasure of drink itself. There is no doubt that with increased wage-earning the number of acts of violence, of disturbed family relations from drunkenness, of Papago men apprehended and jailed for this reason on the Reservation and in town, has steadily risen. We shall return to these facts in chapter xvii, and we shall learn how conscious the children are of them.

153 Because of the subordinate function of money as a means of prestige and achievement among the Papago, and because of its quite preponderant con-
556 version into a pleasure which, though similar to the traditional relaxation, lacks most of the constructive value of its model, the high rank of money among the best things mentioned by western Papago children seems alarming. This part of the Reservation is the least acculturated to the spirit of modern white civilization. At the same time, it is driven by its economic predicament to make use of the modern white system of wage work. The conditions surrounding this wage work—mainly in the cotton fields and mines—are not such as to further a psychological and spiritual adjustment to white culture. The incorporation of the money concept into the values of western Papago children seems to indicate that this paradoxical and disruptive situation is being increasingly accepted by their group.

In the eastern children's answers, money as the best thing does not occupy a conspicuous place. Here, though wage work is also done in the cotton fields or for the government, the need for it is less vital. While the Papago principle of pleasure is operating here too, and drunkenness is a similar problem, longer and more continuous contacts with noneconomic aspects of white civilization—in the near-by Agency, in the many and more regularly attended schools, in the missions—have apparently brought about change of values. School, the prestige of a "nice" job, work itself, and good character are of some importance in the East but are not mentioned in the West.

153 In both communities personal achievement is valued more highly as a best thing than as a pleasant experience. Perhaps this is partly due to schooling (which itself has competitive elements) and to the models of personal achieve-

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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ment represented in some dominating Papago personalities. Still, however, such achievement is considerably less conspicuous than in the answers of white children.

SADNESS

Turning toward the so-called "negative" emotions, i.e., those connected with unpleasant feelings, we find that sickness and death together bring more sadness to both Papago and white children than any other one cause (see Table 7).

That death and sickness would probably have a place of importance in the experience of every Papago child is obvious from the high infant mortality rates alone. We have seen in chapter xiii that children are constantly exposed to acute and chronic diseases and that not only childhood diseases but also

TABLE 7

CHIEF SOURCES OF SADNESS DESCRIBED BY PAPAGO CHILDREN OF TWO AREAS AND BY WHITE CHILDREN (ROUNDED PERCENTAGES OF ALL RESPONSES)*

Source	Western Papago	Eastern Papago	All Papago	Whites
Sickness	23	20	20	17
Death	18	23	24	26
Aggression by others	13	7	9	2
Discipline	11	8	10	3
Disappointments	10	6	10	37
Personal badness	4	14	10	1

* For source of data see Table 4. For age limits of the various groups and relation of columns 1, 2, and 3 see Table 6.

pneumonia, influenza, tuberculosis, and trachoma are relatively frequent. Besides, sickness seems to be, from an early age on, a foremost theme in the warnings and exhortations given to the child at home.

In comparison with death and sickness, all other causes of sadness appear secondary. In the West, sadness caused by punishments and reprimands and by others' aggression, rank next; in the East, personal badness and discipline imposed by adults. The differences between the two areas are not great. White children show little concern about all these categories of experience but are instead much more saddened by disappointments following pleasant expectations.

ANGER AND SHAME

Anger and shame are the two categories of the Emotional Response Test in which the fewest answers were obtained from Papago children. According to the Papago code of behavior, one should not openly express anger, and this fact probably is one reason for the small number of responses to the question

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153 about occasions of anger. The question about occasions when a child has been ashamed is usually felt to be quite intimate, because it demands the admission of situations in which the individual must present himself at a disadvantage. It is therefore understandable that Papago children, those of the other Indian tribes studied, and white children from a midwestern town all showed a noticeable reserve in their responses to this question.

In so far as Papago children admit anger, it is most frequently provoked by the aggressive or inconsiderate behavior of others (e.g., "I was angry when John hit me" or "I was angry when Mary threw my doll into the fire"). This reaction is not greatly different from that of the other Indian and white children who were asked the same test question (see Table 8). If, however, we single out the resentment of clearly physical or verbal aggression as it appears in all "negative" emotional categories of the test, we find that in all the Indian tribes studied this type of aggression plays a much more important role than among white children. The Papago are near the lower end of the scale, and we have evidence from their behavior that aggression is relatively infrequent among them. We may, however, assume that they are more conscious of aggression and perhaps at the same time more vulnerable in this respect than white children.

153 865 178 Awareness of and avoidance of aggressive behavior has always been an essential part of Papago child-training (see chap. ix) as a protective device against the disintegration of the group. Even reactive anger, though justified, should not be admitted. Actual admission of anger by about twice as many eastern as western Papago children is probably a symptom of partial disintegration of the old standards; the code of behavior is breaking down disproportionately to the vulnerability maintained. Open criticism of bad behavior in school and the equally open condemnation of sinful behavior by various missionary methods of education are likely to justify admission of reactive angry feelings more readily than the indirect Papago methods of criticism—joking, teasing, and avoidance.

153 861 Another unpleasant experience which is remembered by Papago children more often than by white children is the discipline received from adults in the form of punishments and reprimands. The Papago usually discipline their children not by corporal punishments or withholding affection or favors but by exhortations, joking, or teasing. Final compulsion to desirable behavior lies in the exemplary conduct of other members of the family group, in praise, in the approval granted by the neighbors, and in the generally acknowledged relative authority of the man over the women and of the older over the younger.

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As previously indicated, there are few restrictions other than that of co- 153
operation within the working group of the household, which starts only gradually after the children have been accustomed to a high degree of indulgence during the first years of their lives. This pattern of child-training may explain why, on one hand, the concern of Papago children about discipline is lower than that of the Pueblo Indian tribes and, on the other hand, higher than white children's concern. In the Pueblo tribes the training pattern, though it *appears* similar, is much more strictly channelized, and living close together as well as the highly community-directed organization expose the disciplined child

TABLE 8

PRINCIPAL SOURCES OF ANGER AND SHAME AS DESCRIBED BY CHILDREN OF TWO PAPAGO AREAS AND BY WHITE CHILDREN (ROUNDED PERCENTAGES OF ALL ANSWERS CONCERNING EACH EMOTION)*

Source	Western Papago	Eastern Papago	All Papago	Whites
Anger:				
Aggression by others	24	40	27	21
Inconsiderateness by others	20	12	19	21
Authority, discipline	15	5	10	7
Restricted desires	5	4	9	15
Shame:				
Embarrassment in public	63	35	45	2
Bad behavior	11	28	23	48
Failure, inadequacy	2	7	5	21

* For source of data see Table 4. For age limits of the various groups and relation of columns 1, 2, and 3 see Table 6.

much more to blame and ridicule by the neighbors than in Papago society, where family groups live farther apart. At the same time, however, the rare event of being directly disciplined will be of memorable concern for the Papago child, while for his average white age mate it is an accepted part of the recognized educational system, less worth-remembering and mentioning.

If all negative categories of the test are considered together, the children from both districts show the same amount of concern about discipline. It is interesting, though, that, while western children are predominately angry and sad about it, those from the East feel more afraid and ashamed. Again we seem to be confronted with a shifting of attitudes: the western child reacts with unruly emotion to a kind of discipline which, according to Papago standards, is itself unruly; the eastern child has apparently been influenced by the concept of merited castigation acquired from school and church.

Restriction of desires seems to be a negligible source of anger and sadness

153 among the Papago; this is quite understandable if we recall that the Papago child knows few restrictions which do not apply equally to the surrounding world of grown-up people. His desires are usually respected and discussed with the same seriousness as those of his elders.

Embarrassment in public is the greatest cause of shame to Papago children of both the western and the eastern districts (see Table 8).

In the Papago society in which each family member shares the daily work, in which on festive occasions ritual performances by certain groups or individuals do not seem to play an essential role, accidental or purposeful singling-out of a person in front of a number of onlookers is likely to cause deep embarrassment. In children and young unmarried people this feeling of discomfort would probably be increased by the Papago principle of seniority which, though never very strict or forbidding, teaches the younger ones not to draw undue attention to themselves in the presence of older people. Besides these factors of social organization and child-training, the individual Papago's outlook on life seems to include a dread of conspicuousness.

153 778 As we have seen before, among the Papago the average man and woman are expected to go through life with its sequence of work and pleasure in happy compliance with the good strokes of fate and in modest resignation to the bad. Extraordinary luck and spiritual power may come to anybody from the supernatural but cannot be achieved by effort alone. Whoever has this power is looked upon with awe. The obverse of this view is expressed in the relative lack of pity and charity shown to persons struck by misfortune and the ridicule thrust upon those who, being without supernatural favor, make themselves conspicuous. The latter attitude may be in part a protective device against the usurpation of undue power.

This may explain why the feeling of shame for Papago children is largely equivalent to embarrassment in public. Again we find that children from the western part of the Reservation, who are less acculturated, reveal this trait to a remarkably high degree, while eastern children have developed, probably in substitution, a clear tendency toward shame about their own bad behavior.

FEAR

153 The one unpleasant emotion about which Papago children responded almost as freely as to questions about "happiness" is "fear." Fear was, and apparently still is, an essential part of Papago life. In the desert which holds numerous dangers for man—death from starvation and the bites of poisonous snakes—fear is necessary for survival, because it cautions the daring and makes him doubly alert to the hidden enemy.

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153 761 In the old days the two main fears of the Papago were apparently the dead and animals. Every dead person—not only the slain enemy, though he was considered particularly dangerous—might return, bringing suffering, sickness, and death. It is uncertain whether and how far this fear of the dead concealed feelings of guilt and hostility and how far it represented their channelization; but certain aspects of the Papago way of life seem to suggest that such feelings have played an essential part in this highly magical concept of fear.

153 578 761 In interpersonal relations unquestioned co-operation was necessary and required. Disturbances which might upset the household were dangerous to its total functioning and therefore extremely undesirable. Expressions of anger and acts of violence occasionally occurred, but they were considered unwise and bad. Only very grave offenses merited actual retribution rather than avoidance. There was little channelization of emotions into specific roles of action. Most of the occasional acts of violence occurred at festive gatherings with their license to pleasure and their complete release from tension, but these outlets were not officially sanctioned. Interpersonal relations with the tribal enemy, the "bad medicine man," and the dead were alone exceptions to this rule of smooth co-operation. However, emotions concerning the enemy and the bad medicine man were likewise concentrated upon the connection with the dead. The worst mortal danger came to the Papago not from the living but from the dead enemy; the bad medicine man's destructive power stemmed from his contacts with the dead. A dead person was not openly named, accused, or condemned; his potential malevolent capacities were implied in the terror of his return and might be mitigated through certain rites of purification and reconciliation.

153 Terror is the highest expression of repulsion, in which hate, anger, aggression, and destructive tendencies are combined and converted into an overpowering drive for avoidance. On the other hand, terror, as opposed to open aggression, is not in effect an object-directed release but self-directed tension. The Papago practice of concentrating negative feelings in terror and fear of the dead apparently had the following threefold effect: it minimized the interpersonal tensions occurring in daily life; it united the living in their common fear and avoidance of all the dead; and it enforced the defensive tension necessary for survival, at the same time shifting from the living to the dead the fears which limit strength and freedom of action.

The controlling efficiency of such a psychological mechanism would be based upon the exaggeration of one specific tension area, which probably induced a relative release of others, and upon its legitimacy, which would lend the security of general approval to negative feelings otherwise not sanctioned.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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Its precariousness and limitation would lie in the fact that conflicts were not solved but only displaced and avoided.

The Papago believed that most commonly the dead approach the living in the form of animals, particularly of owls. Other animals, like the coyote, might be messengers from the land of the dead. But, beyond this, every single animal could become a bringer of death, sickness, and misfortune or, on the other hand, a helper and a sender of power and dreams (see chap. vi). Thus, the attitude toward animals seems to be an extension of the fear of the dead. The Papago fear of animals today seems to be connected with guilt feelings; very often it is the offended or maltreated animal to whose revenge misfortune is ascribed. The desirable attitude toward them—taught to the children from an early age—is avoidance.

TABLE 9

PRINCIPAL SOURCES OF FEAR DESCRIBED BY CHILDREN OF TWO PAPAGO AREAS AND BY WHITE CHILDREN (ROUNDED PERCENTAGES OF ALL RESPONSES)*

Source	Western Papago	Eastern Papago	All Papago	Whites
Animals	54	40	45	17
Clearly supernatural fear (ghosts, etc.)	12	10	10	1
Clearly objective fear (physical danger)	11	16	15	34
Subjective fear (night, noises, etc.)	7	15	9	14

* For source of data see Table 4. For age limits of the various groups and relations of columns 1, 2, and 3 see Table 6.

Present-day Papago children are greatly afraid of animals, as their responses to the Emotional Response Test show (see Table 9). Frightening experiences with animals take by far the first place among all remembered fearful occasions. Since these children are in daily contact with all kinds of animals including domestic beasts like cattle, horses, and dogs, evaluation of the test results is quite difficult. At first glance, a Papago and a white child who mention having been chased by a dog appear to have had the same kind of fearful experience. Knowing, however, the Papago belief in the potential supernatural character of all animals, and remembering that as late as 1943 several Papago ascribed a long drought to a large-scale killing of sick horses, we cannot be sure without further exploration where the fear of animals implies fear of the supernatural and where it does not. The principal difference between the two qualities of fear lies in the meaningful and intentional reference to himself which the frightening experience has for the individual afraid of the supernatural and in the practically limitless consequences to which he fears it may expose him.

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153 It is probable that in Papago children the quality of fear may change from case to case and in most of them may be complex. Besides "objective" fear, as justified by an actually dangerous event, they probably will hold in varying degree fear of the supernatural either as an actual component of the frightening occasion or as a future threat, which may become active whenever special circumstances provoke a supernatural interpretation. The less acculturated western children, whose daily contact with animals does not differ from that of eastern children, show a markedly greater fear of animals.

Since, at the same time, the *range* of admitted frightening experiences is the same in both districts, it seems plausible that the difference between the two areas in fear of animals may be due not to a difference in experience but to a change in attitude. This theory seems to be supported by the fact that eastern children show a relative increase in the vague, indefinite anxiety which in the test appears as fear of loneliness, of the darkness and stillness of night, and the like—fears which are termed "subjective" in Table 9. This anxiety apparently increases where fear of the supernatural is low or not admitted, as the responses of white children and of the strongly acculturated Sioux[2] seem to indicate. Besides this anxiety, which in the eastern Papago is apparently the main substitute for fear of animals, children from that district show an increase in clearly "objective" fear.

THE "WORST THING"

153 753 In asking the children about the "worst thing that could happen" to them, the testers expected to obtain an impression about their main concepts of the "avoidable," as developed from various negative experiences and emotions, as well as from observed and taught negative values. Papago children's answers to this question show that to them sickness is the worst of all things (see Table 10). Though this concept fits well with the observed high incidence of sickness among the Papago and with the physically uncomfortable conditions to which a sick Papago child often must submit, it probably reflects also the crucial position which the concept of sickness occupies in Papago supernatural beliefs (see chap. vi). Among the Papago such beliefs are still functioning with great strength as demonstrated by the medicine man's influence and by the wide use people make of his services today.

Of all areas of life in which the belief in supernatural influence and direction may anchor, those of sickness and death usually yield last to attacks from science. To the sick man, helpless and insecure, the thought of being a victim of his own guilt and an object of the intention of a supernatural force appar-

2. See Gordon Macgregor, *Warriors without Weapons*, p. 191.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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ently holds much consolation. It increases his feeling of importance, gives an egocentrically meaningful interpretation to the causes of his suffering, and thus leaves open unto the end a hope of recovery—because what is caused through guilt or through a higher will may be undone through repentance and sacrifice, attempts at reconciliation, or the employment of a power greater than that which sent the sickness.[3]

Thus it is not surprising that the change in values we have observed in other spheres among the eastern Papago children is not noticeable with regard to the concept of sickness. In contrast to white children, Papago children from both districts mention death as the "worst thing" less often than sickness. This may be due partly to avoidance of mentioning death; the Papago child's mind

TABLE 10

THE "WORST THING THAT COULD HAPPEN," AS DESCRIBED BY CHILDREN OF TWO PAPAGO AREAS AND BY WHITE CHILDREN (ROUNDED PERCENTAGES OF ALL RESPONSES)*

Source	Western Papago	Eastern Papago	All Papago	Whites
Sickness	30	36	38	11
Death	9	14	10	20
Bad behavior	9	19	16	5
Inadequacy or failure	5	5	4	18

* For source of data see Table 4. For age limits of the various groups and relations of columns see Table 6.

will necessarily dwell more upon the most common effect of magical activity, i.e., sickness.

Among other concepts of the "worst thing" we find again that personal badness or bad behavior are mentioned more often in the East than in the West. The most striking difference between white and Papago children besides the reversed evaluation of sickness and death, is white children's great concern about their own inadequacy, which to Papago children is of very little importance.

IMMANENT JUSTICE AND ANIMISM

In connection with what has been said about the role which the supernatural seems to play in certain emotional experiences of Papago children, the results of the test for belief in "immanent justice" and "animism" are of particular interest.

This test does not refer to actual experiences and their emotional interpreta-

3. There are many examples which show that in these crises the appeal to supernatural and even magical forces and means is not rare in modern white society.

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tions. It attempts to find out how far children tend to consider the more or less ordinary events happening to them to be direct consequences of their own behavior, even when there is no objective causal relationship. Devised to reveal the degree of egocentricity in children, the test does this by determining the extent of magical interdependence which a child feels to exist between himself and the surrounding world.

In the test story a boy who has committed a misdeed subsequently suffers an accident. A child who interprets this accident as punishment inflicted upon the boy for his misdemeanor shows egocentricity by his implication that a coincidental event takes place because of the boy's misdeed. At the same time, in implying that the accident has been intentional, he assumes vaguely that it has been brought about by supernatural or magical forces.

TABLE 11

BELIEF OF INDIAN AND WHITE CHILDREN IN "IMMANENT JUSTICE"
(PERCENTAGES OF RESPONSES IN EACH GROUP INDICATING BELIEF)*

Group	Ages of Children			
Piaget's Swiss children	6 86	7–8 73	9–10 54	11–12 39
Lerner's American children	6–7 82	8–9 70	10–11 31	
Papago children:	6–9†	9–11	12–18	
Western	53	93	91	
Eastern	76	85	87	

* Data in this table and the following are from Robert J. Havighurst, "Belief in Immanent Justice and Animism among Indian Children of the Southwest and Sioux" (MS).

† These percentages are based on the responses of very small groups of children—seventeen in the West and twenty-three in the East.

It should be noted that "egocentricity" on this level is not necessarily identical with crude egocentric behavior in interpersonal contacts in the ordinary sense of the term. Self-reference as expressed in belief in immanent justice may, for example, be observed in adults all over the world combined with highly developed standards of charitable behavior. Piaget, Lerner, and others found that in modern white children this concept apparently is dominant to a high degree in early childhood and gradually decreases as the child grows up (see Table 11).

In contrast to these findings, older Papago children do not reveal a decrease of belief in immanent justice. Instead the responses of children from the eastern area show that older children believe in it more than children of six to eight; in the West this belief is considerably more common among the older children than the younger (see Table 11).

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We cannot very well assume that the crudest possible process of thought which may be the source of belief in immanent justice in earliest childhood—i.e., the simple egocentric generalization of a self-experienced cause and effect mechanism—also operates in adolescent Papago children. The results seem rather to confirm the impression that Papago children's thoughts and possibly also their behavior are to a very high degree influenced by a belief in guidance and retribution through supernatural forces or in magical interdependence of the self and the surrounding world. Though Papago believe that the activity of supernatural forces is ultimately unpredictable, they also think that human behavior may provoke them to anger and vengeance. From this test we do not know to what extent the force of guidance and retribution may be merged in these children's minds with the Christian concept of God who rewards the just and punishes the unjust.

TABLE 12

BELIEF IN "ANIMISM" REVEALED BY PAPAGO CHILDREN OF TWO AREAS (PERCENTAGES OF RESPONSES INDICATING BELIEF)*

GROUP	AGE 6–8†	9–11	12–18
Western Papago	71	92	65
Eastern Papago	74	57	44

* For source of data see Table 11.
† For size of groups see Table 11.

In the test story the accident happens by means of an ax which slips, cutting a boy's foot. In modern white society young children show to a high degree a belief that inanimate objects are alive, acting and reacting like animate beings, particularly like the child himself. This belief in "animism" was observed to decrease progressively with age among white children, in line with their decreasing belief in immanent justice. Papago children's reactions reveal at least a tendency to agree with those of white children in regard to animism (see Table 12).

The results obtained from Papago children are interesting not so much for the decrease in animistic belief with advancing age as for the statistically less pronounced drop found in the western districts. Belief in animism may be assumed to vary with the objects concerned: where, for instance, an ax is clearly inanimate, a celestial body may be considered alive. In this respect the decrease in animistic responses to the particular story used in this study cannot convey a clear, conclusive picture about possible animistic beliefs among Papago children, especially since in their culture the supernatural is so widely believed to act in the form of and through animals. On the other hand, the compara-

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tively high percentage of adolescent western Papago children who attribute life to the ax seems to indicate that a generalized form of animism is a part of Papago culture but may be modified in the eastern area through influences of modern white culture.

On the whole, the findings of this test give the impression that interactions between the self and supernatural forces occupy a larger sphere in Papago children's minds than in those of white children. Probably the limits of this sphere are flexible and may even be constantly changing in the same individual. This was exemplified by the case of a highly acculturated, intelligent, normal Papago adult who, falling ill, interpreted the sickness as a punishment inflicted by God, as a symptom of having been given medicine power by supernatural forces, and as gastroenteritis.

In the same manner the life of Papago children and their behavior may be influenced, sometimes continuously, sometimes occasionally, by the omen, warning, reward, or punishment into which any ordinary event may change. As subconscious desires and guilt feelings projected into the supernatural, the belief in immanent justice and also in animism may function as a vaguely defined religious conscience which, whenever usual emotional and moral standards fail, may at any moment emerge and change the course of life.

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Chapter XVI

STANDARDS OF BEHAVIOR

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AS WE have seen, selective emphasis and limitations recognizable in freely admitted emotional experiences may implicitly reflect behavior standards. But social standards of behavior are more explicitly and directly revealed in the discrimination between right and wrong, between "good" and "bad" behavior, elicited by the questions of the Moral Ideology Test: "What could a boy (girl) of your age do so that someone would praise him (her) or be pleased?" and "What would be a bad thing to do so that someone would blame him (her) or think badly of him (her)?"

In addition to belief in magical and supernatural forces, the main behavior requirements for smooth functioning of the old Papago society were work, co-operation, and avoidance of aggression. To children these requirements were constantly emphasized by the living examples of their elders and in home teaching, as they still are today (see Part II above).

According to answers given by Papago children to these test questions, doing good work is still recognized as the foremost means of obtaining social approval, and laziness as the most frequent source of blame. The work mentioned is usually concrete, specific, and done for the family; it seldom includes elements of achievement and prestige.

This unequivocal congruency between vital socioeconomic needs and values of behavior (which was found in all Indian tribes studied except the Sioux) is one of the most interesting findings of the Indian Education Research Project, because it throws light upon a source of value formation which is usually obscured in more complex societies.

The high percentage of agreement found in Papago children's definitions of "good" and "bad" as well as the marked agreement between socioeconomic needs and recognized adequate forms of behavior seem to point both to a strong cultural cohesion among the Papago and to a close integration of culture with socioeconomic organization.

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In the eastern districts, where alien influences have operated for a longer time and where they exert a more constant pressure, uniformity of reaction to good and bad behavior, though still high, is less than in the western districts (see Table 13). In the East we find a higher positive evaluation of thoughtful and kind behavior, consistent with the results obtained through the Emotional Response Test. School and school education are more highly valued. On the negative side, aggression, stealing, and use of bad language are more important.

TABLE 13

"Good and Bad Things To Do" as Described by Children of Two Papago Areas and by White Children (Rounded Percentages of All Responses by Each Group)*

Source	Western Papago	Eastern Papago	All Papago	Whites
Work†	50	35	42	10
Care of property	7	1	3	4
Kindness	4	7	6	11
Doing well in school	1	4	3	10
Aggression	7	13	10	3
Stealing	8	13	12	2
Drinking	3	2	3	2
Use of bad language		1	1	2

* Data from Robert J. Havighurst, "Comparison of the Moral Ideology of American Indian and White Children" (MS). Data for white children are for ages eight to ten. For the purposes of comparison, only the Papago children of these ages are included in the figures for "All Papago" (col. 4). Thus column 4 does not represent an average of columns 2 and 3, which include children six to eighteen.

† Percentages for this item include responses concerning work as a good thing and laziness or shirking as a bad thing.

The patterns of behavior standards revealed by the eastern and western Papago children in the Moral Ideology Test are distinguished chiefly in that in the West the old pattern of co-operative activity is still more prevalent. Psychologically such a pattern puts the satisfaction and security deriving from praise within immediate and constant reach of everybody with average mental and physical capacities; makes good behavior visible and concrete in the completed work; and leaves little room for emotional demonstrations of bad conscience and repentance which would tend to inhibit efficiency. This exteriorization of values probably dissipates interpersonal tensions, much as occupational therapy does, by turning the individual's attention from himself and toward the group through the neutralizing process of work.

In contrast, the pattern of behavior standards shown by children from the eastern districts seems to reveal symptoms of a more internalized, self-directed

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morality, as indicated by the greater emphasis on character traits like kindness and friendliness rather than on the value of work. Seen together with these children's concern about aggression and other bad behavior and their frequent admissions of anger caused by experienced aggressions as revealed by the Emotional Response Test, this shifting of values suggests the rise of tensions and conflicts which cannot be effectively controlled by the action of work.

The children's answers directly reflect values taught by the missions, as well as disturbances of cultural and socioeconomic cohesion, as is manifest, for example, in the split between Catholic and Presbyterian Papago and in the increasing influence of individual wealth and prestige in a formerly uniform and levelized group (see chaps. vi and vii).

To the Papago, work was centered in and done for the family group. White standards of competition and individual achievement thus must seem to him—and probably are, in effect—in direct opposition to the central institution of his life. The individual who is being slowly deprived of the confident assurance that his world is unquestionably right, absolute, and eternal must then resort to other sources of security and accept other values and standards of behavior.

Christianity, as it has been presented to the eastern Papago for the last thirty years, has obviously become the most important new source of security. In the beginning it may have caused doubt and conflict, but today the Papago's serious and eager participation in mission services and institutions is ample evidence that here he finds security.

The Christian principles of peace, kindness, consideration for one's neighbor, and avoidance of aggression are familiar to the Papago, in whose culture these principles have long had a place. While previously they were devices with a social function, developed out of the needs of Papago family groups and communities and aimed toward their best possible maintenance, these principles are now presented as imperative moral demands of an absolute character, to be pursued by the individual independently of, and if necessary even against, actual requirements of the society. As the scope of these demands is not limited to the accomplishment of certain duties but extends to self-improvement and salvation, "goodness" and "badness" are now becoming the attributes not only of actions but also of thoughts, attitudes, and motives. Psychologically they imply a stronger development of personal conscience and of self-scrutiny and guilt feelings.

Whether and how far this pattern of changing behavior standards fits the changing total psychological and socioeconomic situation we shall see when dealing specifically with the problems of Papago adjustment to white American civilization. At this point a few words should be said about one unexpected

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result obtained from the Moral Ideology Test in regard to the concept of stealing.

In the old Papago society, stealing was ordinarily done by enemy raiders and did not constitute a problem within the society, for people in need were supported by their relatives. Even today stealing is extremely rare among the Papago. At the same time, we find from this test that there is a discrepancy between the attention given by Papago children to the value of personal property and the concern about stealing as a cause for blame. This trend is more pronounced in the more acculturated eastern districts than it is in the West.

Apparently we are dealing here with a one-sided, negative approach to the concept of property. The value of property beyond subsistence uses has been introduced into Papago society under more pressure than any other white concept. Its positive manifestations—such as the creation of jobs and the establishment of co-operatives for the sale of cattle and horses—have been less generally experienced than its more negative effects—the building of cattle guards between districts, the introduction of relief, and the emphasis laid in school and church upon the sanctity of personal property in the face of a society which, still largely co-operative, is only in the earliest stage of developing an individualistic, competitive system. Sanctions against taking someone else's property were imprinted upon the minds of the Papago before they were allowed to realize that they could acquire property for themselves by legitimate means.

From this point of view the attention given by Papago children to the concept of stealing seems largely a direct effect of a kind of indoctrination not uncommonly used in dealing with minorities. It is characterized by the introduction of new principles through a vanguard of restrictive rules which have no organic basis in the minority group's experience and are only slowly assimilated with opportunities for such experiences and for development of corresponding positive values. The psychological effect of this sort of indoctrination is demonstrated in the world of Papago adults by feuds between districts about grazing land; in that of their children, by bickerings about the ownership of pencils, hair ribbons, and candy sticks.

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Of main interest to us is the conclusion from these findings that, where values similar to those already existing in Papago society have been introduced from outside with comparatively little coercion, there is a certain equilibrium between the development of positive behavior standards and those of restrictive, negative significance—as, for example, between kindness, on the one hand, and avoidance of aggression, on the other. Where, under pressure from a differently oriented society new principles are encroaching upon the Papago, this equilibrium seems to be lacking; and the constructive, positive standards are outweighed by the negative.

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

196 It appears that a feast at which sahuaro wine was drunk was dependent at Caborca on the killing of the mule-deer (called by the Mexicans *buro*). At the dance which was executed in a different manner from that of the ordinary sahuaro festival, the men carried arrows, and the singing was accompanied by the medicine-man's rasping sticks. The same kind of festival is probably still in use among Indians west of the Altar River.

153 181 The Indians at this place show the usual intelligence of their tribe. One young man who had been instructed in the knowledge of the alphabet by an American in Quitovac, taught himself how to read. He did not read fluently, but had almost mastered the art. Few of the Indians here can, however, be depended upon for work, as they are demoralized by the mescal brandy. They seem to employ their time between earning money and getting drunk therewith. They are no longer able to keep up their native feasts and are rapidly disappearing into the body of Mexican laborers. The same is the case with the remnants of Papagoes who live in the rest of the towns or settlements along the Altar River.

000 My plan had been to fit out my expedition here, but the difficulty I experienced in trying to secure riding and pack animals, not to speak of men of the right sort, decided me to continue the journey by wagon. All traffic [484] here is by wagon, and it is easy to proceed by this mode of transportation as far as Quitovac and Sonoita, two settlements of Mexicans with considerable Indian populations in the farthest inhabitable western part of the District of Altar. Even a wagon proved difficult to

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626 Again the key to the puzzle lies in lack of social sanctions in the Papago group in the camp. The Desert People come from several hamlets on their reserves to any camp, usually. There is no community leader nor community sanctions to motivate them. The "chief" [596] turns out to be merely the patriarch leading one large extended family. Among this group of his own kin, he receives considerable respect, but carries less authority than many Anglo patriarchs. Among unrelated families, even those from his own village, he has none. This camp operators do not realize, having assumed that a Papago patriarch conforms to their concept of an Indian chief. (This mistake has been made repeatedly in U. S. history by Anglos who insisted upon projecting the concept of "chief" derived from Anglo-Saxon protohistory into American Indian society where it was not and is not true.)

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626 The heterogeneous group of Papagos in a camp no more
571 constitute a socially integrated group with recognized and effective social sanctions than the racially heterogeneous residents of a miscellaneous camp. While they do not like being talked about by other Desert People, they do not act to forestall such talk as they would to keep their relatives and neighbors at home from talking. So camp grounds accumulate trash.

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177 In labor camps the Desert People are also away from home in mental attitude as much as in physical being. They feel themselves in a white man's world, where they should act as white men--and they see an example of uncleanly whites in labor camps as a pattern. They cannot act better than they are taught. They cannot act according to standards in the minds of cotton growers or city newspaper reporters which are invisible--they can learn only what they can copy from sight. This fact explains why what social scientists call "acculturation" (adjustment of people of one culture to habits of another) takes place when people meet face to face. An example from history illustrates clearly. The Papago word for "cat" is copied from the old Spanish cat call rather than the Spanish name-word because the Indians saw and heard Spaniards calling their cats, and could associate call and animal. They could not learn the Spanish name for cats, which was invisible and silent in the minds of the Spaniards.

78 church, to be blessed and taken home to give those who couldn't come. But 9 Papagos out of 10 at one of the pilgrimmage towns in October, 1950, came to fulfill a vow.[1]

484 788 So important are these pilgrimmages to the Desert People that almost three-fifths of the Papagos in the cotton fields in 1950 went to Magdalena, San Xavier or Chuwhiy Guwsk for the October celebration.[2] In numbers, this apparently meant over 2,500 Papagos traveled from southern Arizona labor camps to one of these three churches.[3] Many more Desert People left their homes on the reserves to make their pilgrimmages, although the proportion was not as high because of the large number of Protestants among those remaining on the reserves during picking season, and lack of money to finance a pilgrimmage. Perhaps another 1,000 individuals made pilgrimmages from the reserves. Almost half the tribe went on the 1950 pilgrimmage.

This religious exodus affected virtually every cotton farm where Papagos worked to some extent.[4] The number of Papago pilgrims at Magdalena in 1950 seemed rather higher than the year before, apparently reflecting greater psychological stress in the tribe, perhaps arising from greater awareness of a critical economic position and unsettled world conditions again threatening young men. A fifth of the 1950 cotton harvesters had made a pilgrimmage in some previous year although they didn't in 1950.[5] indicating the high proportion of pilgrims returning.

● [153] Greatest of the 3 celebrations is that held on the day of St. Francis of Assisi, October 4. Pilgrims [155] travel to all three churches where miraculous curing [178] statues of St. Francis Xavier are located—Magdalena, San Xavier, and Chuwhiy Guwsk.

[361] The largest celebration leading up to the Oct. 4 rites galvanizes the small Mexican city of Magdalena, an adobe settlement located about 60 miles south of the [155] international boundary in Sonora. Many are the stories [178] of cures by its powerful statue, which is supposed to have come to the spot when burros bearing it northward for a procession of friars refused to proceed.

[1] Based on 11 persons giving reasons for their trips.
[2] 23 of 40 individuals giving information made pilgrimmages, 57%.
[3] There were about 1,600 families with 4,500 Papagos in labor camps in Pima and Pinal counties in 1950.
[4] 9 of 10 farmers in Pima county and 10 of 10 in Pinal giving information lost some Papago workers.
[5] 8 of 40 giving information, 20%.